/115 cont./

101 the language of the Waika, Shidishana, or Shamatairi, therefore the neighboring Indians as well.

Thus the term "Yanoama" refers to the cultural and linguistic identity; it does not have the least political aspect. There is no tribe of the Yanoama, nor is there any tribe of the Waika, the Shidishana, or the Shamatairi. At most one can speak of the "people"; but one must bear in mind that there is no institution, no office, that is representative of this people. Also the cognizance of this term in the thinking of the natives /116/ remains general and therefore inevitably vague, parallel to the small amount of geographical knowledge, which is limited to what they themselves have traversed, that is, as a rule, to the circle of the nearest villages, which are about one to two days' journey away from one's own.
101 Geopolitical thought, which would find expression in a more
621 extensive political organization, is unknown to the Yanoama; their conceptual world revolves around the village.

The village is the unit in which one thinks and after which one names himself: when questioned a Waika will never answer that he is a Waika or a Yanoama, but rather will give his village name, say, "Bolitaotedi," whereby "tedi" (village), like the Spanish "pueblo," refers less to the settlement and more to the
●829 people who live in it. It seems obvious that one is a Waika, for the slight contact with civilization has not yet led in their thinking to distinguishing their own culture from that of foreigners; the foreigner has remained an individual guest with peculiar habits and has not yet become the representative of a large, strange
101 world. It is not obvious, however, to which village one belongs;
621 village membership is the decisive political and sociological characteristic of the individual.

361 Externally the village is a clearing in the virgin forest, usually oval in ground plan, with a large diameter from 30 to 100 meters;
[162] the houses line the edge of this clearing. On the average a village is inhabited by about 100 persons. The villages of the Shamatairi south of the Orinoco, however, are much larger; according to our

Surára
Pakidái
Shiriana

173 /75 cont./ According to their
241 own statements, both tribes regard the Xiriána as their culture-
177 bearers in this case too. The latter, however, likewise merely
[829] adopted agriculture from their higher Karaiben neighbors (348).

348. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 307.

224 b) Hunting

The majority of Surára and Pakidái men are excellent hunters and practice their hunting with the large bows and arrows described above (see pp. 36 ff.), which they know how to handle masterfully. In addition, they know the habits of the animals precisely. They discover every trail of a wild animal, no matter how faint, sniff it, and announce the time when it was at this place. Often they then follow it for hours through the almost impenetrable forest; sometimes they are /76/ gone for several days. Moreover, they know how to attract the animals by imitative sounds.

There are two methods of hunting, the individual hunt -- larâ -- (349) and the collective hunt -- norâ -- (350). The latter,

[593] [462] 359. In this case, the hunter often takes his wife along (if he has two or more wives, the oldest usually accompanies him), who must carry the slain animal, or pieces of meat from it, into the maloka.

[184] 350. Among the Waiká, too, there are these two hunting methods, and the names sound very similar there, "lama" and "henioma" (Zerries, 1956b, p. 151).

however, now takes place only before the great festival in memory of the dead (see pp. 224 ff.), in order to provide sufficient supplies of meat for it. Trained dogs are trusty helpers [231] in hunting (see pp. 185ff.).

Of larger game the wild pig (Pecari tajacu) -- poxe -- is most often killed, and after that the tapir (Tapirus americanus Briss.) -- xáma -- and a deer species (Cervidae sp.) -- hajá. The

Surára
Pakidái

/117 cont./

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559. (cont.)
no longer able to work for the family is regarded like a banana tree that has already produced the fruit, and no one pities them.../" P. Giacone, 1949, p. 25).

no longer able to take part in the general migrations, however, they were killed, in accordance with the tribal custom (see pp. 153/154).

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[157] The friendly, open nature of all Surára and Pakidái is coupled with a very strongly marked self-assurance. Along with their allies, above all the mighty Xiriána, they feel like rulers of the world, which, in their opinion, consists only of virgin forest, mountains, rivers, and lakes. The caboclos (planters, rubber and palm-fiber gatherers), the only members of civilization whom they know, are therefore always treated with a certain compassionate condescension by them, for they are of the opinion that all civilized persons, whites, blacks, and mixed, are weak and powerless and owe their lives solely to the benevolent
000 forbearance of the Indians (560). When I told them about cities

[171]

560. Baldus found similar conceptions among tribes of the northeastern Chaco (Baldus, 1931, p. 114), as did Métraux among the Kayapó /Cayapo/. (Herr Prof. Métraux told me this during the meeting of the Deutsche Gesellschaft für Völkerkunde in Berlin, 1957.)

123 when I Told Them about Cities
829 in which many white and black people live, of the sea and the big ships sailing on it, they could not grasp this at first and then became very thoughtful. Later, at my departure, they urged me not to travel too far out on the ocean so that I would not fall off the earth-disk (see p. 197).

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

I proceeded to show my gratitude to the chief by offering him the red woollen drawers which I had not yet put on. He studied them carefully, and then got into them as to the manner born. They fitted him well, and their colour being red, which Indians find irresistible, convinced him of the prestige value of this little scrap of clothing. Without a word he walked away with the solemn gait of a man who has had a pot of gold revealed to him in a vision. He made a tour of the encampment in stately fashion, and when he returned to us he was followed by a train of Samatari who were all clicking their tongues and emitting little deep-throated grunts. He stopped when he reached us, just beside me.

I carried on with the good work of thawing him. The watch was still in my hand, and I showed it to him, with signs that I was willing and anxious to explain the true nature of this metallic animal. The twelve figures for the hours, I told him, with sweeping gestures eked out by a few words of Shirian, represented the fixed stars of the sky. The big hand was the sun, and the little one the moon. They followed each other through the firmament, among the stars. This explanation found the mark straight away—perhaps because it only went to confirm their own suppositions about the little animal which had been worrying them during the night.

'*Pilmoro, pilmorokuan,*' shouted the chief, and his followers danced about, echoing him, which seemed to mean that they had identified the watch with the sun and its circular motion. '*Pilmoro, sapulite, lahallate*'—magic, big magic.

Then we were aware of some fresh surge of movement. It came mainly from the women. They had gathered for an animated discussion, which might have something to do with what Luis Antonio had said about the trousers. Indian women find white men an irresistible attraction and their menfolk, in all tribes, have one favourite tactic to prevent their being deceived: they tell their wives that these damnable white men possess such gigantic, nay monstrous, organs that they cause laceration and death. This legend is half-believed by the men themselves, partly by reason of the Europeans' actual superiority in regard to this important anatomical detail.

For once, however, it seemed that the Shirian ladies were not quite convinced. One of them could attest by the evidence of her own eyes that this dreaded enormity was a disingenuous exaggeration. But the point had not been generally confirmed, and it had started a discussion among the womenfolk. Men who had been listening to the explanation of the watch now joined in with much jeering and laughter. Enrico was obliged to yield his person to the

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

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general curiosity, and it was he who dispelled for ever the belief that white men were a danger in themselves, apart from their guns and other terrifying adjuncts. The women fell on him. In a frenzy of excitement they insisted on seeing everything: they might have been doctors. His trousers dropped and feminine curiosity was slowly appeased; to the accompaniment of wondering cries and deep howls from the men, Enrico had to turn about and bend backwards and forwards. One woman, whose curiosity outdid all the rest, even touched him so that she could measure the normality of the dimensions with her hand. Then they began to eye me, perhaps wondering if I might not be a giant in this respect, but fortunately nothing more happened, the conversation became general and excited, and the inspection was over. Luis Antonio and Solituan joined in the talk, their excitement tinged with a certain sly amusement.

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The children were kept very strictly some distance away from us, although the grown-ups did not find this easy, curiosity being always strongest in the young, and especially so among primitive races where the youngsters are particularly active and intelligent and enjoy a life of perfect freedom within the bosom of the tribe. The parents kept an eye on them all the time, and if they came near us they were scolded and sent off with a sound smacking. There was every likelihood that their mothers didn't want them to come under our magic influence, which might be an evil magic all too potent against the weak and defenceless little ones. We afterwards learned that this had been a very real factor in the hostility with which we and our Guayca companions had been received, though the latter should have been known to them as friends.

The fresh morning air brought our hunger back in full force, and at last Uarema succeeded in getting hold of a piece of burned meat for us: it came from a nearby hut, and heaven only knew what it was. The charred fibres of it went down our throats like splinters of glass. Then, beyond the smoke of the first row of hammocks, I made out the roof which sheltered the chief, just as he came out with a modest throng around him. He had the gun in his hand, holding it like a bow and firing imaginary arrows by pulling at an invisible string, to the accompaniment of boom-booms that were taken up and echoed by the chorus of his followers.

I asked Luis Antonio the meaning of this pantomime. He hadn't seen what was happening and he didn't take the trouble to look, since he knew all about it already: he said the gun was looked on as a kind of bow that fired arrows with an explosion.

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

Naturally it wasn't our present hosts who had attacked the Brazilians. They denied it themselves. It was other Samatari 'along that way' (a vaguely south-westward direction was indicated): very bad men they were, very savage, they were really the true, dyed-in-the-wool Kasarape—monsters who took prisoners in their battles and then split them in two on a stake driven into the earth, and afterwards made a meal of them.

Anyone who has the least idea of Indians will know how much faith to put in their tales that they themselves are so good and the other tribes 'over there' so bad: precious little. The Indians one meets are always harmless, hardworking and peaceable—according to their own account: it is the neighbouring tribe that is so bad, harrying them and laying waste their fields and robbing them and exercising their wicked magic through their medicine men, causing their children—the strength and hope of the tribe—to die of the evil eye.

You can take a region in which acts of barbarism have been committed, and make a tour right round it, and if you believe the Indians it is always the tribe further on who are the bad men responsible for the outrage. And then there are those super-bad-men, the quintessence of badness, always right outside the closed circle, the dregs of the dregs in wickedness—the super-savages, the Guaikiri. But this time, so we were led to infer by our hosts, the tribe to blame were the Kasarape who lived on the right bank of the Uraricoera, fiercest of all the outcasts and intent on chopping up every Samatari's spine to suck the marrow out.

Luis Antonio had told me, some time during the night, that the Samatari were no longer friends of his. The Samatari and the Uarema Guayca were enemies now, the one having accused the other of the evil eye. Many Samatari babies had died lately, and if you followed out some tortuous paths of thought it apparently became clear that their deaths had been caused by the perversity of the elders of the Guayca tribe. These in their turn attributed the deaths of certain Guayca children who had been ill in recent years to the Samatari. The magic score was thus settled, but it left a remnant of hostility which had fallen upon Enrico and me. We stood in some danger between the opposing occult powers.

I learned, too, that the wretched little infant we had seen at the Moné landing—a scion of the Uarema tribe—had died mysteriously, so the Guayca thought, owing to Samatari magic. The excursion on which he was being taken at the time when we had seen him was made with the object of taking

*628 past. Finally, there is no way of scoring 'promises' to
*621 exchange women, and the strength of the shoriwä tie between
602 members of two distinct villages is largely a function of
583 such promises.

*621 Summarizing the difference in agnatic and affinal
602 ties, the important point is that affinal ties have the
613 potential of changing in their coefficient of solidarity when exchanges between two descent groups continues over time. It is largely for this reason that villages reduce to clusters of affinally related dual organizations (paired patrilineal local descent groups) that have exchanged women in the past and will probably continue to do so in the future.

C. Ferocity and Bellicosity

773 According to the Yąnomamö Moon Myth, Unudima, a
828 Spirit, shot Moon with an arrow. The drop of blood that fell to the earth flowed over the surface, causing all Yąnomamö to become fierce. Ever since that time the Yąnomamö have behaved fiercely, because they were born in blood.

828 The Yąnomamö regard themselves as being violent,
577 coercive, crafty and quick to display aggressiveness; they
• 829 value this behavior. Yąnomamö contacts with other tribes
648 and with civilized foreigners have been consistently hostile until about 1955. They have succeeded in exterminating one tribe,[1] and have caused a number of villages of another tribe to relocate in order to avoid the attacks mounted on them by

[1] The Maku; see Migliazza, 1965.

• 829 642 the Yąnomamö. This process is still going on.

794 152 Ferocity and violence is further reflected in Yąnomamö cosmology. In their conception, the human soul has three [753] [761] parts. One of these parts, the nąreshi, is capable of leaving the body; when it does so, the person becomes ill and dies unless it (the nąreshi) returns. The nąreshi are inherited patrilineally for males and matrilineally for females. [825] Each human nąreshi has an animal or bird counterpart whose life is coextensive and coterminous with that of the human to which it corresponds. Many of the nąreshi are types of animals commonly taken by hunters. Thus, when the Yąnomamö kill game animals, they believe they also kill the human being to whom that nąreshi corresponds.[1] Hence, hunting in the eyes of the Yąnomamö is behaving fiercely, for every nąreshi animal killed also results in the death of some human, usually an enemy.

[754] [756] Shamanism also deals in ferocity, for the Yąnomamö shamans all claim to take mysterious trips to the villages of their enemies and eat the nąreshi of the enemy's children.

*221 156 152 The complex of ferocity has an important consequence in Yąnomamö social organization, as aggressive behavior detracts from the solidarity of alliances between villages and creates tension within villages. Men are constrained to act ferociously and seize on every opportunity to coerce others in order to display aggressiveness. Most of the displays of

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[1] They are not concerned about killing their own nąreshi, for humans and their nąreshi animals live in complementary distribution.

10:Chagnon E-4.5 (1964-1966) 1967 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

organization is only approximated, however, as an examination of the genealogies given in Appendix A will show. The smaller the village, the more conspicuous is the tendency for the composition to approach a moiety-like structure. Larger villages are more composite and may contain as many as four or five distinct lineage segments.[1]

The tendency for small villages to be characterized by two (and only two) dominant lineage segments, each linked to the other by marriage ties, recurs with sufficient frequency to permit me to use a simple dual organization model as the basis of the analysis of village structure. The model given in Figure 1 should be taken as only a heuristic devise in the discussion of Yanomamö village structure that follows; the Yanomamö do not conceive of their villages as being bifurcated into two groups, for in most instances they are not. And, small villages soon lose their moiety-like structure as they begin to include males and females from villages with which marriage ties are made.

The relationships between kin discussed in the previous chapter are all given in Figure 1. The adult males in Generation 1 exchange sisters[2] and are, therefore, related to each other as shoriwä (brother-in-law). This is a well-defined, stable, non-ambiguous relationship; the males in

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[1] See Appendix A for a discussion of village composition. Details of one small village are given in the Appendix, but the composition by lineage is summarized for three other villages.

[2] In Figure 1, $A_{1.1}$'s wife is the sister of $B_{1.2}$.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

115 for being fierce long ago, and other men respect him. He also has five mature brothers
[622] who support him, and he has given a number of his sisters to other men in the village,
[156] thereby putting them under some obligation to him. In short, his "natural" following (kinsmen) is large, and he does not have to constantly display his ferocity. People already respect him and take his suggestions seriously.

Rerebawä is much younger, only about twenty-two years old (See Fig. 1-5). He has just one wife by whom he has had three children. He is from Karohi-teri, one of the
[582] villages to which Kąobawä's is allied. Rerebawä left his village to seek a wife in Kąobawä's group because there were no eligible women there for him to marry.

[156] Rerebawä is perhaps more typical than Kąobawä in the sense that he is concerned about his reputation for ferocity and goes out of his way to act tough. He is, however, much braver than the other men his age and backs up his threats with action. Moreover, he is concerned about politics and knows the details of intervillage relation-
[622] ships over a large area. In this respect he shows all the attributes of a headman, although he is still too young and has too many competent older brothers in his own village to expect to move easily into the position of leadership there.

[582] He does not intend to stay in Kąobawä's group and has not made a garden. He
[591] feels that he has adequately discharged his obligations to his wife's parents by providing them with fresh game for three years. They should let him take the wife and return to his own village with her, but they refuse and try to entice him to remain permanently in Bisaasi-teri to provide them with game when they are old. They have even promised to give him their second daughter if he will stay permanently.

Although he has displayed his ferocity in many ways, one incident in particular shows what his character is like. Before he left his own village to seek a wife, he had an
[837] affair with the wife of an older brother. When he was discovered, his brother attacked
[593] him with a club. Rerebawä was infuriated so he grabbed an axe and drove his brother
[578] out of the village after soundly beating him with the flat of the blade. The brother was so afraid that he did not return to the village for several days. I recently visited his village with him. He made a point to introduce me to this brother. Rerebawä dragged him out of his hammock by the arm and told me, "This is the brother whose wife I had an affair with," a deadly insult. His brother did nothing and slunk back into his hammock, shamed, but relieved to have Rerebawä release the vise-grip on his arm.

● [829] Despite the fact that he admires Kąobawä, he has a low opinion of the others in Bisaasi-teri. He admitted confidentially that he thought Bisaasi-teri was an abominable group: "This is a terrible neighborhood! All the young men are lazy and cowards and everybody is committing incest! I'll be glad to get back home." He also admired Kąobawä's brother, the headman of Monou-teri. This man was killed by raiders while I was doing my fieldwork. Rerebawä was disgusted that the others did not chase the raiders when they discovered the shooting: "He was the only fierce one in the whole group; he was my close friend. The cowardly Monou-teri hid like women in the jungle and didn't even chase the raiders!"

[156] Even though Rerebawä is fierce and capable of being quite nasty, he has a good
[522] side as well. He has a very biting sense of humor and can entertain the group for hours on end with jokes and witty comments. And, he is one of few Yąnomamö that I feel I can trust. When I returned to Bisaasi-teri after having been away for a year, Rerebawä was in his own village visiting his kinsmen. Word reached him that I had returned, and

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

he immediately came to see me. He greeted me with an immense bear hug and exclaimed, "Shaki! Why did you stay away so long? Did you know that my will was so cold while you were gone that at times I could not eat for want of seeing you?" I had to admit that I missed him, too.

Of all the Yąnomamö I know, he is the most genuine and the most devoted to his culture's ways and values. I admire him for that, although I can't say that I subscribe to or endorse these same values. By contrast, Kąobawä is older and wiser. He sees his own culture in a different light and criticizes aspects of it he does not like. While many of his peers accept some of the superstitions and explanatory myths as truth and as the way things ought to be, Kąobawä questions them and privately pokes fun at some of them. Probably, more of the Yąnomamö are like Rerebawä, or at least try to be.

Fig. 1-5. Rerebawä during an ebene *session sitting on the sidelines in an hallucinogenic stupor.*

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

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Fig. 2-7. Opasimi, Kąobawä's brother's daughter, making a hammock for trade with allies.

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nant, while other plants allegedly cure the same evils. Kąobawä's followers do not cultivate many of these malevolent magical plants; they claim, however, that the "Waikas"[8] use them extensively and blow harmful charms at their enemies through hollow tubes. The failure of Kąobawä's group to use magical plants in this fashion is cited as a distinguishing feature that sets it aside from other groups of Yąnomamö.

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[8]The Yąnomamö are sometimes referred to in the literature by such designations as Shiriana, Xirixana, Guaharibo, and Waika. The first three terms are foreign words meaning "howler monkey" and have been applied to the Yąnomamö by their northern neighbors, the Carib-speaking Makiritare Indians. A good deal of the early information came from the quite unreliable accounts travelers obtained from the Makiritare. The term "*Waika*," however, from the verb *waikai*, is a Yąnomamö word meaning "to kill an animal (or man) that is already dying from a wound." Zerries (1964) used the term "*Waika*" in much the same sense that I am using the term "Yąnomamö." *Waika*, however, is very ambiguous and imprecise. For example, members of village "A" will assert that members of village "B" are "Waikas." If you ask members of village "B" if they are Waikas, however, they will deny it and say they are Yąnomamö, adding that the members of village "C" are Waikas. When you question members of village "C," you will get the same answer: The Waikas live in the next village, only Yąnomamö live here. Nevertheless, the term does have currency in the villages near the headwaters of the Orinoco River. One of my informants claimed that the blood of "Moon" (see the third section of this chapter) changed into Waikas, but they became extinct because they were so fierce. He also asserted that the Waikas were Yąnomamö.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

The next layer is called *hadu kã miti*: sky layer. It is made of earth on the top surface and provides the eternal home for the souls of the departed. A complete replica of life on earth is to be found on top of *hadu*, except that the inhabitants are spirits of men, not real men. They garden, make witchcraft, hunt, eat, and in general do what living man does. Everything that exists on earth has a counterpart on *hadu*, a sort of mirror image, although the activities of the two groups of objects and beings are independent of each other.

The bottom surface of *hadu* is the visible portion of the sky. The celestial beings are attached to this surface and move across it. It is not thought to be very far above the earth, since many of my informants asked me if I had crashed into it when I flew in an airplane.

Man dwells below the sky on "this layer": *hei kã miti*. It originated when a piece of *hadu* broke off and fell to a lower level. This layer is a vast jungle, sprinkled with innumerable Yąnomamö villages. These are conceived to be located on earth, as shown in Fig. 2–4c. Even foreigners are thought to live in a type of house that resembles the Yąnomamö dwelling; after all, foreigners derived from the Yąnomamö by a process of degeneration.

Finally, the plane underneath this layer is almost barren. A single village of spirit-men is found here, the Amahiri-teri. A long time ago, after the earth layer was formed by a piece of *hadu*, another chunk of *hadu* fell down and crashed through earth. It hit earth at a place where the Amahiri-teri lived, carrying their village down to the bottom layer. Unfortunately, only their *shabono* and gardens were carried with the piece of *hadu*. Hence, the Amahiri-teri have no neighborhood (*aribi*) in which to hunt for game, and so they send their spirits up to earth to capture the souls of living children and eat them. There is a constant struggle between the evil spirits of Amahiri-teri shamans and the evil spirits of shamans on this layer, earth: They send malevolent demons against each other and preoccupy themselves with defending their respective villages from evil spirits.

The Amahiri-teri people lived at the time of the *no hadabö*, the first men. These original Yąnomamö were distinct from living man in that they were part spirit (*yai*) and part human. When they died, they became *yai*, spirits. *No hadabö* means, literally, "those who are now dead"; in a cosmological context, it refers to the time of the first beings.

THE FIRST BEINGS The first beings cannot be accounted for. The Yąnomamö simply presume that the cosmos originated with these people. Most of them, and there were many, had a specific function, such as creating a useful plant or object. They figure prominently in mythology. Many of them bear the names of plants and animals that are important in the Yąnomamö economy, and the first beings are considered to be the spirits of these. I will relate a few specific tales about some of these first beings, retaining where possible the Yąnomamö narrative style.

One of the first beings was called Boreawä, or simply Bore. He was the first to acquire plantains, the staple of the Yąnomamö diet. Because he had plantains first, he was the headman (*pata dadihiwä*) of the first beings. Boreawä did not tell the others that he had plantains, as he did not want to share them. At that time, the first beings ate only dirt and animals, as there was no domesticated food. One day another of the first beings, Horonama, got caught in a rain so he took refuge in a sheltered place in the jungle. He was lost and did not know whose neighborhood he was in. By luck, he took refuge in the very place where Boreawä had hidden his cultivated plantains. Horonama, a dirt eater,

there, so they copulated with her. After they quenched their desire for sex, Omauwä caused the girls vagina to be changed into a mouth with teeth.[10] Howashiriwä, another of the first beings, was sitting on the trail at this time, very hungry for sex. When Rahariyoma's daughter walked by, he seduced her, but in so doing, lost his penis: her vagina bit it off. It was when this happened that Omauwä's son became very thirsty. Both Omauwä and Yoawä began digging a hole to find water to quench the boy's thirst. They dug the hole so deep that when water did gush forth, it caused a large lake to form and covered he jungle. Then some of the first beings cut down trees, and floated on them to escape the flood. Because this was such a strange thing to do, they changed into foreigners and floated away. Their language also changed into the tongue of foreigners, and gradually became unintelligible to the Yąnomamö. This is why foreigners have canoes and cannot be understood.

Many of the first beings were drowned in this flood. Those who managed to escape and remain Yąnomamö did so by climbing mountains. They climbed Maiyo, Howashiwä, and Homahewä mountains to escape the flood, Maiyo being a peak near the area where Kąobawä's village had its origin. Then Rahariyoma, the mother of the girl whose vagina was changed into a mouth,[11] took a piece of red pigment and painted dots all over her own body. After she was completely covered with red dots, she plunged into the lake and caused it to recede. Omauwä then caused her to be changed into a *rahara*, a snake-like monster that lives in large rivers. After that, she caused Yąnomamö to drown when they tried to cross large rivers, either by eating them or by splashing large waves on them. Omauwä then went downstream and became an enemy to the Yąnomamö. Today he sends hiccups, sickness, and epidemics to the Yąnomamö.

It is because the foreigners refused to climb the mountains to escape the flood that they became enemies to the Yąnomamö. The foreigners tried to make friends with the Yąnomamö after the flood, but because their language was so different, the Yąnomamö refused to be friends. Today, however, the Yąnomamö are becoming friends with foreigners.

After the flood, there were very few original beings left. Periboriwä (Spirit of the Moon) was one of the few who remained. He had a habit of coming down to earth to eat the soul parts of children. On his first descent, he ate one child, placing his soul between two pieces of cassava bread and eating it. He returned a second time to eat another child, also with cassava bread. Finally, on his third trip, Uhudima and Suhirina, two brothers, became angry and decided to shoot him. Uhudima, the poorer shot of the two, began letting his arrows fly. He shot at Periboriwä many times as he ascended to *hadu*, but missed. People say he was a very poor shot. Then Suhirina took one bamboo-tipped arrow (*rahaka*) and shot at Periboriwä when he was directly overhead, hitting him in the abdomen. The tip of the arrow barely penetrated Periboriwä's flesh, but the wound bled profusely. Blood spilled to earth in the vicinity of a village called Höö-teri, near the mountain called Maiyo. The blood changed into men as it hit the earth, causing a large population to be born. All of them were males; the blood of Periboriwä did not change into females. Most of the Yąnomamö who are alive today are descended from the

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[10] In some variants of this myth she put *pirumu* fish in her vagina. These fish bit off Howashiriwä's penis.

[11] There are many linguistic parallels between eating and copulating in the Yąnomamö language. The verb "to eat" also means "to copulate", the verb "to eat like a pig" also means "to copulate excessively", the adjective meaning "satiated, full" also means "to be pregnant." The context of the statement decides the meaning.

blood of Periboriwä. *Because they have their origin in blood, they are fierce and are continuously making war on each other.* This myth seems to be the "charter" of Yąnomamö society. It is the only one they repeatedly told me without my asking about it.

Where his blood was thickest, in the areas directly underneath the spot where Periboriwä was shot, the wars were so intense that the Yąnomamö in that area exterminated themselves. Where the blood had an opportunity to thin out, the Yąnomamö were less fierce and therefore did not become extinct, although they, too, fought continuously.

After this, there were only men. One of the men, a descendant of the blood of Periboriwä, was called Kanaboroma, not to be confused with Kanabororiwä, the bird who stole fire from Alligator's (Iwä's) mouth. One day his legs became pregnant. Women came out of the left leg, and men out of the right. These Yąnomamö were very *kirii* (docile, afraid) when compared to the ones who were derived from the blood. They rapidly multiplied and also contributed to the present population of Yąnomamö. All the present Yąnomamö came from the blood of Periboriwä or from the leg of Kanaboroma, or from a combination of both. The original beings all changed into *yai:* spirits.

THE SOUL Yąnomamö concepts of the soul are elaborate and complicated. The true or real portion of living man is his "will" or "self" (*bubii*). At death, this changes into a *no borebö* and travels from this layer to *hadu*, the place above where the souls of the departed continue to exist in an ethereal state, much in the same fashion as do the people on earth: gardening, hunting, and practicing magic.

The trail along which the *no borebö* travel forks after it reaches *hadu*. Sometimes, the Yąnomamö will point to the sky and explain that such and such a cloud is the *no borebö* of a Yąnomamö who is just reaching *hadu*. After the soul reaches the fork in the trail, a spirit, the son of Thunder (Yąru), Wadawadariwä, asks the *no borebö* if it had been generous during its life on earth. If it had been stingy, Wadawadariwä directs the soul along the path that leads to *shobari waha*, a place on *hadu* where souls of stingy Yąnomamö burn eternally. Most of the Yąnomamö I questioned on this asserted that they planned to lie to Wadawadariwä and avoid going to *shobari waha*. In general, they did not fear this place and were convinced that they would not be sent there. They expect Wadawadariwä to direct them to the trail that leads into *hadu* proper.

Another portion of the soul, the *no ubudi* or *bore*, is released at cremation. This part of the soul remains on earth and wanders about in the jungle. The children who die always change into this, as they do not have the *no borebö* portion that goes to *hadu:* It must be acquired. The reason that children do not change into *no borebö* is that their "wills" (*bubii*) are ignorant or innocent (*mohoda*). Thus, one has a character only after a certain amount of knowledge and experience are gained; with this, one develops a knowledgeable "will" and can expect to enter *hadu* in the form of a *no borebö*. Apart from this, one is born with an *ubudi* (*bore*), which is invariably released at cremation and wanders eternally in the jungle after death. Some of these wandering *ubudi* are malevolent and attack travelers in the jungle at night. When they do so, they use sticks and clubs. The Yąnomamö usually use the name *bore* when describing the attacks of these malevolent spirits, although this is just an alternate name for the *no ubudi*.

NORESHI Finally, each individual has a *noreshi*. This is a dual concept: One has a *noreshi* within his being, a sort of spirit or portion of the soul, and, in addition, an animal that lives in the jungle and corresponds to this soul. The *noreshi* animals are inher-

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

have chronic warfare, results in a distinctive settlement pattern and system of alliances that permits groups of people to exploit a given area over a relatively long period of time. Finally, the Yąnomamö explain the nature of man's ferocity and origin in myth and legend, articulating themselves intellectually with the observable, real world.

Thus, each individual Yąnomamö enters the world with the physical, social, and ideological traditions at his disposal that will permit him to confront and adjust to the jungle, his neighbors, and the demons that cause sickness. The cosmos is ordered and orderly, in *hadu* as it is on earth.